178 in the cities caused the migration of some peasants
369 to the urban centers. The continued high premium
166 placed on learning, practical or otherwise, induced the wealthier rural inhabitants to send their children to modern city schools which offered new opportunities. Thus, the cities became the centers from which the forces of change radiated into the surrounding countryside.

Some of the rural immigrants became permanent residents in the cities; others returned to their home villages. Among the permanent residents, some left their families in the country while others brought their immediate families (wives and children) to the cities. In either case, it meant the breaking up of family and clan relations. Industrial work and other city employment changed the outlook of these rural people; new professions such as modern medicine, law, engineering, and banking attracted the attention of those who would otherwise have been occupied
178 in the study of the Confucian Classics. This
871 was especially true after Confucian training had been found "impractical" and not in keeping with changing conditions. Education in the secondary schools and colleges, however inadequate and artificial it might seem, was designed for better citizenship.[11] Their curricula opened a new and different world, far more interesting

11. Hu Shih, The Chinese Renaissance (the Haskell Lectures, University of Chicago, 1933) Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1934. Teng and Fairbank, loc. cit.

178 and intelligible to the younger generation than the
871 classics of old. If modern education had not always succeeded in giving new skills to the student, it at least had taught him not to be resigned to his lot, but to look to the future rather
178 than to the past for betterment. With the in-
871 crease of schools, there emerged in the cities
565 a considerable professional class and a large number of students cut off for years from their original environment. Students and intellectuals, seeking some common meeting ground, banded together; and with their newly established organizations came a semblance of separate class consciousness. Although frequently dependent for subsistence on their families, students had nothing to do with the cultivation or management
178 of land. Alienated from the land and anxious to
565 find a new channel of social advancement, the intellectuals were confronted with the problems of social disorder. Furthermore, in contrast with the situation in Europe during a comparable cultural period, when the landed aristocracy contested with the merchants, industrialists, and bankers for positions in the ruling elite class, political power and economic power in modern China continued to be in the hands of a single group. When social nobility was made difficult by the lack of a clear and recognized channel for upward social movement, social rôles were less clearly defined; sons of high government officials became industrialists, bankers' sons became diplomats, and all owned land. Intermarriages between the new and the old upper-class elements were taken for granted. Modern intellectuals, mostly from middle-class families, were unable to obtain position and status

178 For one thing, it organized economic activity on
361 a non-family basis. Persons from rural areas
471 attracted to the city by the opportunity to earn
596 an independent income or the necessary supplement to the family's farm income were forced to make their homes near their jobs for at least a part of the year. Either permanently or temporarily they were removed from direct family control and subject to the new ideas associated with industrial society everywhere.

Another consequence of the factory and business system was a new criteria for employment. The efficiency operation of modern production and management required that personnel be hired on the basis of the possesion of such skills as a particular job demanded rather than on the old basis of personal or kin relationship to the owner or responsible management. The solidarity of blood relationship and the old employment function of kinship were prime resistants to the spread of modern business enterprise in China, but where the latter succeeded in establishing itself, it forced a fundamental break in the old Chinese familial process.

B. Influence of Modern Environment

871 In many places where the Chinese popula-
178 tion was sheltered from direct contact with
596 modern industrial life, an indirect influence was exerted by the environment. The modern curriculum taught in foreign missionary schools in the late nineteeth and twentieth centuries was approximated by the new government schools and

offered to a broader segment of the population in the decade before World War II. New social, political, and economic ideas thus disseminated were supplemented by the outpourings of the press. Some rural villages formerly a day's journey or more away from the nearest great city were brought only hours away by modern methods of transportation, particularly the railroad and the steamship. All these media brought the people and especially the young into contact with ideas and way of life alien to their own. Awareness of new opportunities, comforts, and pleasures to be had in the modern city planted a seed of dissatisfaction with the old manner of living.

C. Influence of Revolutionary Thought

An even more disturbing influence on the old way of life was the increasing spread of revolutionary social and political doctrines after 1916. The monarchical reformer K'ang Yu-wei had brought the traditional family under attack as early as 1898 by castigating the "virtues" associated with it as either non-existent or harmful to society. These ideas did not achieve any widespread currency in China until the rise of the New Culture Movement in 1916, a revolution in Chinese thought and expression. It emphasized individualism, the equality of the sexes, and the duty of service and loyalty to the nation. Ideas of this sort were spread by the May Fourth Movement of 1919, in the revolutionary propaganda of the Kuomintang during its struggle for power in the mid-twenties, by the student of anti-Japanese agitation of the thirties, and in the socially concious writings of China's new and popular authors.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 1j,
Sociological Background

EDUCATION

I. BACKGROUND

871 In order to understand the changes brought about by the Communists in the educational system of China, it is necessary to review the background of educational development under the Nationalist regime.

Chapter II, Article 11, of the Nationalist Constitution promulgated in 1946 states that the "people have freedom of speech, [freedom for the] pursuit of knowledge, and [freedom of] publication." Article 21 of the same chapter further spells out the principle of education by stating that the "people have the right as well as the duty to receive a basic education." Interpretations of these broad principles are found in Chapter XIII, which specifies, among other things, that the purpose of education includes the development of the spirit of nationalism, and that both public and private educational institutions are subject to government supervision according to law.[1]

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1. Chung-kuo Chiao-yü Nien-chien 1948 [Educational Yearbook of China 1948], Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1948, pp. 23-24.

871 Nationalist officials singled out two of the most controversial points for further elaboration. One is the so-called "spirit of nationalism" which the Ministry of Education at Nanking defined as the spirit based on San-min Chu-i, the Three Principles of the People expounded by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Thus a mild social reform was adopted as the central theme of the Nationalist philosophy of education. The other controversial point is the extent of government supervision over educational institutions. Officials explanations stressed the supervisory function of the government in the system of education and denied that this implied any authoritarian control.[2]

[873] Under the Nationalist Government, efforts were exerted to promote adult education and combat illiteracy. Outstanding records were made by such people as James Yen (an internationally known promoter of mass education), who organized drives to eradicate illiteracy, and Huang Yen-p'ei, now a member of the Communist Central People's Government, who did much for the development of vocational education in China.

2. Ibid., p. 24. For other influential theories on education expounded during World War II in China see Chan-shih Chiao-yü Lun-chi [Discussions on Wartime Education], Shanghai, Sheng-huo chiao-yü she, 1938.

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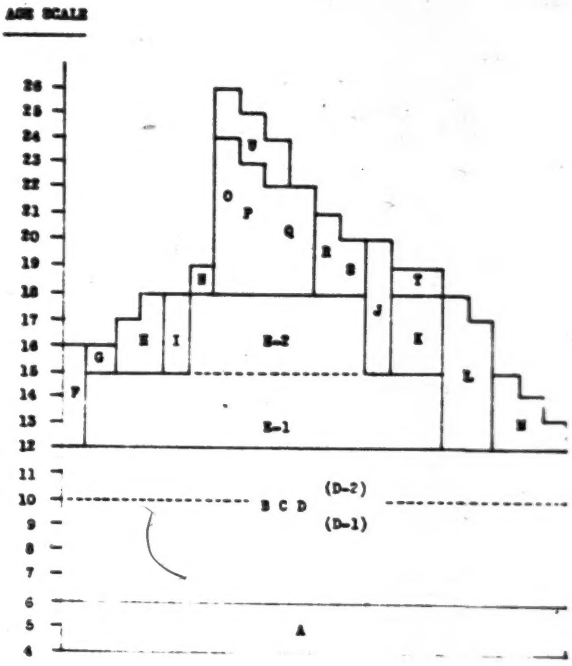
It is enough to say here that had it not been for a decade of war, general education in China would have been far more developed than it was in 1949 on the eve of the Communist seizure of power. 871.

The application of the broad principles of education under the Nationalist government resulted in a system of regular and specialized schooling as pictured in the chart which follows.

CHART 1. SYSTEM OF EDUCATION UNDER THE NATIONALIST GOVERNMENT*



*Chung-hua Min-kuo Nien-chien, 1953 [The Yearbook of the Republic of China], Taipei, Chung-hua nien-chien she, 1953, p. 491.

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87/ As shown in Chart 1, the primary school consists of six grades divided into two levels. For students at rural schools, the first four years of primary school education may constitute an integral unit and may be sufficient, for all general purposes, if the students must devote themselves to manual labor upon the completion of this unit. This feature was later attacked by the Communists as a mark of discrimination against the peasants and workers. But it is to be remembered that at one time the Nationalist Ministry of Education did attempt to revise the primary school system by making it a five-year, one-level system.

Another feature of the Nationalist system of education attacked by the Communists was its failure to establish vocational schools with college standing, thus forcing vocational school graduates to terminate their education at the high school level. While most of the vocational school graduates did not continue their formal education, the system under the Nationalists did not preclude this possibility. The doors of the colleges were open to such graduates as were qualified for enrollment. The only restrictive factor was that most of the vocational school graduates because of their specialization had to take additional courses in order to fulfill general requirements before they could pass the entrance examination to the regular college.

By 1946, it was announced by the Nationalist Ministry of Education, 54.52 per cent of the

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871 nation's population above the age of six either had attended or were attending schools.[3] In 1947, there were 207 institutes of higher learning throughout the country. But this number was unsatisfactory to the government; the Ministry of Education announced that the Central Government devoted only 4.3 per cent[4] of its 1946 budget to education, which is not quite one-third of the amount designated for this purpose by the Constitution.

In the Southwest China Region, 30 schools for advanced education were in operation in 1947. Of these, 16 were general, 8 were technical, and 6 were for teacher-training.[5] Other pre-Communist statistics on education in Southwest China, cited in Table I, will offer comparison with developments under the Communist regime, to be discussed.

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3. The Education Yearbook of China, 1948, pp. 1, 397-483.

4. Chung-hua Nien-chien, 1948 [The China Yearbook, 1948], Nanking, Chung-hua nien-chien she, 1948, p. 1, 623.

5. Chung-hua Nien-chien, 1948 [The China Yearbook, 1948], Nanking, Chung-hua nien-chien she, 1948, pp. 1, 591-594.

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Table I. Education in Southwest China (1945-46)*
(Figures in parentheses are 1946 statistics)

Province	Primary Schools		Middle Schools (Secondary Schools)		Institutions of Adult Education	
	No. of Schools	No. of. Students	No. of Schools	No. of Students	No. of Schools	No. of Students
Szechwan	47,931	3,696,712	825	283,205	(4,635)	(64,828)
Yunnan	11,150	724,833	173	38,844	(2,014)	(169,572)
Kweichow	7,901	623,983	155	38,961	(9,394)	(149,091)

* The Education Yearbook of China, 1948, pp. 1,397-1,483. The institutions for adult education include libraries, museums, night schools, etc. It is obvious that not all the people participating in such activities are counted in the figures for "students" of adult education institutions. The figures for Sikang Province have been included in those for Szechwan Province.

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871 722 It is to be noted that Southwest China, unlike other regions, had an opportunity to expand educational facilities during World War II when many schools in North and East China were forced to move to the interior.

II. MAJOR CHANGES BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE COMMUNISTS

A. Basic Policy

871 Mao Tse-tung stated in his work On New Democracy, that, "A specific culture is the ideological reflection of the political and economic activities of a specific society."[6] In molding a culture for the "New China," Mao believed that the education program in China would be successful if it contained "scientific substances, oriented toward the masses, and adapted to suit China's nationalism."[7] This principle of education was incorporated into the Common Program of 1949 which constituted the basis of the Communist Constitution promulgated in

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6. Mao Tse-tung, Mao Tse-tung Hsüan-chi [Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung], Vol. II, Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, p. 666.

7. Hsia Feng, Hsiao-hsüeh Chiao-shih Shou-ts'e [Handbook for Primary School Teachers], Shanghai, Wen-hua ch'u-pan-she, 1953, p. 8.

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871 1954. Article 41 of the Common Program states that the purpose of education is "to elevate the level of the people's culture, to prepare personnel for national reconstruction, to eradicate the thoughts of feudalism, compradorism,[8] and Fascism, and to develop the spirit of service to the people." To apply this basic policy to education, Article 47 of the same document further specifies that "education must be systematically popularized; secondary and advanced education must be strengthened; technical education must be emphasized; spare-time education for laborers and cadres must be stressed; and revolutionary political education must be given to both young and old intellectuals."[9]

These pronouncements became the guiding light for the Communists in their effort to revamp the educational system of China until the promulgation of the Constitution in 1954. In reality, the new Constitution has nothing to add to or subtract from the principles already in practice. Article 94 of the Constitution

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8. Comprador - a native agent employed by a foreign establishment (commercial houses, etc.) in China, to have charge of its native employees.

9. Jen-min Shou-ts'e, 1950 [People's Handbook, 1950], Shanghai, Ta-kung pao, 1950, Section B, p. 9.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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• 87 says that "Citizens of the People's Republic of China have the right to education. To guarantee enjoyment of this right, the state establishes and gradually extends the various types of educational institutions. The state pays special attention to the physical and mental development of young people." The next article in the Constitution "safeguards the freedom of citizens to engage in scientific research, literary and artistic creation and other cultural activity." These are innocuous statements of commonly accepted principles. Reiteration of these principles in the Constitution, however, provides the Communists once more with the opportunity to clarify their educational aims which are "to develop a socialist China."

Attention must be given to the gradual shift of emphasis from 1949 to the present in the Communist basic policy for education. At the beginning of the Communist regime, the central theme was to bring to reality a "New Democracy" in education. By this the Communists meant that petit bourgeois and national capitalist classes would still be tolerated on a level with the proletariat. Soon afterwards the Communists made it amply clear that a constant effort was to be made to root out every trace of thought and action in education that did not conform to strict proletarian socialism, Russian-style. There have been numerous articles arguing whether there is any difference between the principles of the New Democracy and the socialist principles

871 of education.[10] Apparently the final word on this question was pronounced by an article in People's Education, an official organ of the Ministry of Education since May 1, 1951, which said: "The present stage is no longer the same as the New Democracy stage. We have to not only establish a socialist system of thought for the educators and students (which was the central mission under the New Democracy principle), but to put into practice the principle of 'eliminating step by step the exploitation system and establishing a socialist society' as stipulated in the new Constitution."[11]

In short, the Communist basic policy of education has been to remove gradually all influences other than those of stemming from socialism. In practice, the Communists have attempted to train all levels of personnel required for a complete socialist remolding of China.

B. Changes in Curricula

873 Curricular "reform" was among the first actions undertaken by the Communists in the field of education. Even before their consolidation of power (at a time when a thorough renovation

10. See articles on this subject in Jen-min Chiao-yü [People's Education], Peking, June 1953, April 1954, and June 1954 issues.

11. People's Education, Oct. 1954, p. 13.

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C. Changes in Organization

871 Before 1949, as the Communist Army assumed control of a city or a town, a military delegate was assigned to each school to supervise its administration. The changes the Communists brought to the schools at that time were imposed unsystematically and arbitrarily. Even after the establishment of the Peking regime, the measures designed to revise the educational system and school organization remained haphazard. Following the outbreak of the Korean war in 1950, the main activity of the Communist Ministry of Education, as far as reorganization of the schools was concerned, appeared to be the seizure of private schools and other schools sponsored by religious groups and foreign missions.[14] The first systematic reorganization was occasioned by the issuance of a Goverment Administration Council directive, "Decisions Concerning the Reform of the Educational System," on October

14. Wu-nien-lai Ti Kung-fei Chiao-yü [Communist Education in the Last Five Years], Sixth Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, 1955, Vol. II, pp. 14-15. A total of 6,360 schools were said to have been seized by the Communists.

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87/ 1, 1951. The People's Daily of Peking, central organ of the Communist Party, and People's Education both expounded the theory behind the organizational reform:[15] (1) the reorganization will ascertain the position of vocational schools, special training programs for cadres, and adult educational classes in the regular school system; in other words those cadres, soldiers, peasants, and workers who have had no opportunity for formal education may attend special training schools and achieve the same standing as regular school graduates; (2) changing the six-year and the two-level primary school system into a five-year and one-level system will enable children of poor peasants to receive a much more complete basic education; (3) the new system will place emphasis on technical education to serve the purpose of the "socialist reconstruction of China"; and (4) the kindergarten will have its definite place in the reorganized system.

Thus the reorganization was launched as the central task for education in China for 1952. By September 1952, it was reported, the major

15. People's Education, Oct. 1951, pp. 5-6; Hsia Feng, op. cit., pp. 2-3.

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87 reorganization of schools was completed.[16] However, the Communist Vice-Minister of Education, Liu Shih, reported in January 1954 that "systematic reorganization of the schools was not completed until late 1953."[17] Liu, in reporting on the completion of the reorganization possibly had in mind the decision of the Government Administration Council in November 1953 to "restore the old primary school system of six-years and two-levels." According to Premier Chou En-lai, this last action was necessary because of "inadequate preparation" for the new five-year, one-level system.[18]

The main changes brought about in the reorganization were the regrouping of departments in large universities and specialization in the colleges. The purpose was to

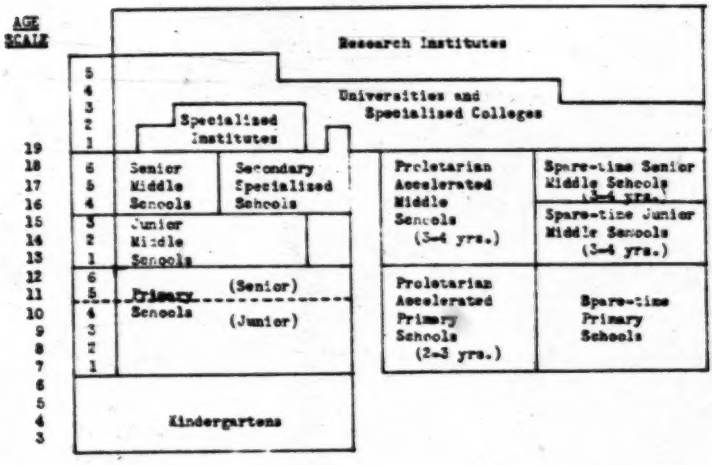
16. Kao Chien-hsing, Chung-kung Ti Nu-i Chiao-yü [Slave Education of the Chinese Communists], Hong Kong, Tzu-yu ch'u-pan-she, 1953, p. 36; Walter Crosby Eells, Communism in Education, Washington, D.C., American Council on Education, 1954, p. 201.

17. People's Education, Jan. 1954, p. 24.

18. Ibid., p. 8.

871 achieve a balanced distribution of educational facilities as prescribed in the program of national economic reconstruction.[19] The system of education after reorganization can best be shown in the chart which follows.

Chart 2. System of Education under the Chinese Communist Regime*



*Communist Education in the Past Five Years, pp. 8-9; Chi Tung-wei, Education for the Proletariat in Communist China, Hong Kong, Union Research Institute, 1954, p. 16. The Chinese term for "middle school" implies "secondary school."

19. For a detailed description of the reorganization, see People's Education, Jan. 1954, p. 65; Communist Education in the Past Five Years, Vol. II, pp. 14-15; Chung Shih, Higher Education in Communist China, Hong Kong, Union Research Institute, 1953, pp. 41-47.

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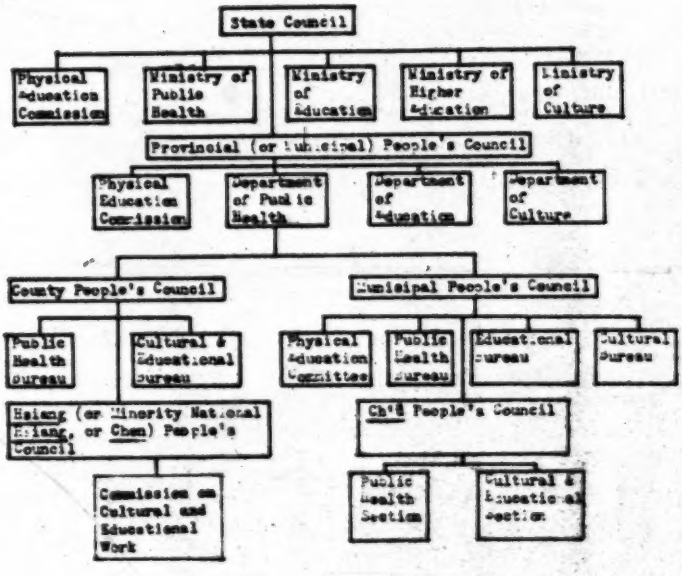
Chart 3. Communist Government Control of Education*/



*/ Communist Education in the Past Five Years, pp. 12-13. The term "Physical Education" used here can also be translated as "Physical Culture and Sports."

(Chart 3 faces p. 285.)

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871 Following the reorganization of the school system, government control over the system was further defined by the promulgation of the 1954 Constitution. As shown in Chart 3, the formal chain of control is not much different from that of the Nationalist system. The following new features, of course, are to be noted: The Ministry of Higher Education is in charge of the education of higher and secondary levels of technical and administrative personnel to be used in the national reconstruction program; the Ministry of Education is responsible for the administration of teacher's training schools, regular middle (secondary) and primary schools, and adult education schools.[20] Prior to the promulgation of the Constitution, education was under the jurisdiction of a Cultural and Educational Administration of the Government Administration Council. Now, under the State Council, culture and education are separated. The Ministry of Culture continues to supervise all "cultural activities" other than education, such as the press, publications, art, drama, and so forth. That physical education is worthy of an independent commission under the State Council indicates the important position it occupies in the Communist program of youth training.

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20. Communist Education in the Past Five Years, Vol. I, p. 11.

871 One significant development in the control
165 of education by the Communist government is the role played by the Party. Although the official chain of control as shown in Chart 3 seems to have no place for the Communist Party, Party branches on all levels are actually the authorities for interpretation of official policy and have the final decision on how a school should be run. Evidence shows that some schools report every important question to the local Party secretary before taking any action.[21] Close-range Party supervision, together with the assignment of well trained veteran cadres to key positions on the administrative staff of the school, serve to maintain the Communists' control over the educational system.

III. MAJOR MOVEMENTS LAUNCHED BY COMMUNIST IN EDUCATION

871 668 ### A. "Thought Reform"

To effect an ideological revolution among the educators and students is an essential step in the Communist plan to "Sovietize" the educational system in China. Since 1949, every major measure adopted by the Peking regime

21. People's Education, Dec. 1954, p. 30.

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668 in the cultural and educational fields involves, either implicitly or explicitly, an effort to remold the thought of the people concerned. However, an organized drive to change the way of thinking of the educators and students did not begin until Premier Chou En-lai delivered his speech on September 29, 1951. He urged the educators to abandon their attitude of "study for study's sake" or "art for art's sake" and to step down from their professorial pedestals to serve the masses. He exhorted the students to forget about personal profit and to identify their ambitions with the national interest.

This movement spread rapidly. Criticism and self-criticism were encouraged. "Petit bourgeois sentimentalism," "capitalistic romanticism," "feudalistic individualism," and a host of other "undesirable" attitudes were subject to relentless attack. During subsequent months the Communist press was crowded with signed confessions of past ideological erros. This is the mainstay of the Communist program to revamp education, but it is admittedly a most trying task which requires a long-range plan and sustained effort for its achievement.

Although practically every college professor in China has published his self-criticism (some of them have done so several times) and every student has been through at least one "thought struggle," the movement continues unabated. The Ministry of Education

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in announcing the tasks for 1954 again pointed out the need for continued vigilance against the "remnant of feudalistic thought."[22] The State Council in directing secondary schools to improve their courses stressed the importance of strengthening socialist thought.[23] The latest revival of this issue occurred when the philosophy and works of Hu Shih, Yü P'ing-po, and Hu Feng became the subject of a purge.[24] (See chapter on Artistic and Intellectual Expression.)

B. Labor-education Movement

The labor-education movement is designed to inculcate a respect for labor in the minds of intellectuals and youth. (This is not to be confused with "Reform-through-labor" discussed in the chapter on Forced Labor.) Instruction begins in kindergarten, where the Communists teach pupils to respect the "fruits of labor," to care for school property, and to aid their parents in the work at home and in the fields. Grade school children are given manual work, partly as physical exercise and

22. People's Education, March 1954, p. 22.
23. Ibid., July 1954, p. 16.
24. People's Education, May 1955, p. 5.

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668 partly as a means to cultivate respect for labor. Older students are urged to prepare themselves for work on the farm or in the factory. Such a preparation, the Communists say, is the "most glorious" assignment which can be given "New China's" youth. Students in advanced schools are reminded of their duty to accept government assignments regardless of the working conditions involved or the separation from familiar places it may entail. The main purpose of the labor-education movement is to prepare students for work upon the completion of any of the several levels of education.

"Study is the only task worth undertaking, and all other professions are beneath it" is a traditional Chinese expression which upholds the high social status of the educated. This has become a target of Communist attack, and the fight to change the minds of the people is still surging.[25]

C. Physical Education Movement

Although a specific commission has been established to promote physical education (see Chart 3),[1] the State Council and the two

25. See Communist official directives on "labor-education," ibid., June 1954, p. 7; May 1954, p. 7.

1 [facing p. 285--Analyst]

ministries of education have been seriously concerned with the health of students. This concern originates from Mao Tse-tung's instructions to promote "good health, good study, and good work." In April 1951, Tung Ch'un-ts'ai, Vice-Minister of Education, called the attention of the nation's educators to the importance of guarding the health of students. Tung's declaration was affirmed by other officials in responsible positions during subsequent years, but apparently the situation was not much improved. The students remained in financial straits while the pressure of intensified courses was increased. The Ministry of Higher Education, the Ministry of Health, and the Commission on Physical Education issued a joint directive in July 1954 reiterating an earlier announcement by the Government Administration Council on "Decisions for Improving the Health of Students in Schools at All Levels."[26] However, it is obvious that stress on physical exercise alone cannot take the place of an adequte diet.

Other movements launched simultaneously with the above-mentioned drives have been revived from time to time. They are indicative of the ills plaguing the educational system under

26. People's Education, Aug. 1954, p. 65.

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668 the Communists in China. Language reform,
● 871 important to primary education and in efforts to combat illiteracy, is associated with "thought reform." The program to establish winter schools, summer schools, and other special training classes for peasants, workers, and soldiers is actually a part of school reorganization. Some of the most important characteristics of these movements will be discussed.

IV. SCHOOLS ON VARIOUS LEVELS

The Communist policy for education and the movements in education are nationwide, and are subject to only minor regional variations. However, a survey of the schools in Southwest China may reveal the extent to which the Communist policy has been carried out and the response of the people in this region.

A. Kindergartens and Primary Schools

872 The development of kindergartens in the Southwest China Region followed the basic policies laid down by the Communists: to consolidate the existing schools and improve their efficiency before building new schools. The program was tied in with the child welfare program and there has been no specific discussion on the progress made in Southwest China. According to Ch'u T'u-nan, Chairman

8B similar spare-time study covering junior secondary school courses would enable students to enroll in senior secondary schools. In this way, any person pursuing studies in his spare-time can eventually complete his education by attending night colleges.

8B1 The Communist government expressed concern over two aspects of the "proletarian" education program. One was that so far the schools have not been paying sufficient attention to the children of the proletariat, in spite of the fact that more and more children of peasants and workers were reported to be enrolled in schools. The government admitted that in certain schools children from peasant- and worker-families still felt themselves discriminated against, and that the cost of education often hindered the furtherance of their education. The other aspect was the lack of preparation on the part of some of the cadres enrolled in higher level cadre schools.[58] To remedy this situation, educational authorities are now trying to strengthen the spare-time classes by giving refresher courses to deficient students.

~~F. Education for Minority Nationalities~~

58. People's Education, Aug. 1953, pp. 31-32.

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F. Education for Minority Nationalities

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With the slogan "All the ethnic groups in China are brothers in a big family," the Communists have been encouraging the establishment of a program to provide educational opportunities for minority nationals. Regular schools are encouraged to enroll minority nationals, and special schools have been established for minority groups. Communist statistics asserted that in 1951 there were 9,103 special primary schools (with 943,285 students) and 117 secondary schools (with 45,628 students) throughout China. These figures, it was claimed, increased in 1952 to 10,668 (1,474,244 students) for primary schools, and 182 (90,000 students) for secondary schools.[59] At the end of 1953, the Communists claimed that over 4,000,000 minority nationals were attending schools,[60] and this would mean that one out of every eight minority nationals was attending school.

In Southwest China, three colleges and a number of middle and special technical schools have been established; the total enrollment of these schools in 1951 was 6,800.

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59. Ibid., March 1954, pp. 40-42.
60. Ibid., Oct. 1954, p. 35.

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871 In addition, 130,000 minority nationals attended
563 spare-time schools in the same year. In 1952, the enrollment of regular middle schools and colleges for minority nationalities in Southwest China increased to 10,000. There were also 694 primary schools with 200,000 students.[61] By 1952, the three colleges for minority nationalities had graduated 3,000
[665] students. The special courses arranged for minority cadres had graduated 25,000 students, including 379 women.[62]

871 The Communists claimed that their policy
563 of providing educational opportunities for
186 minority nationalities had met with warm reception. At the same time, the Communists also admitted difficulties in convincing the minority peoples with their "benevolent" intentions. At Ma-erh-k'ang in western Szechwan Province, the establishment of a primary school at the beginning was eyed by the local people with suspicion. Parents were hesitant to send their children to school for fear that the school was going to take their children away from home. It was after much persuasion that more parents began to let their children attend school, increasing the enrollment from 40 in 1951 to 126 in 1954.[63]

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61. Southwest China Behind the Iron Curtain, pp. 17-19.

62. Ibid., pp. 9-10.

63. Primary School Teacher, Sept. 1954, p. 20.

876 they failed to specify the time when such practices would cease. Since learning a foreign language is no easy matter, the substitution of Russian for English has been a controversial point and may remain an unresolved issue of the Communist ideological orientation in education.

C. Noted Inadequacies

871 Lack of teachers, as has been noted, will continue to hamper the development of education and the improvement of the standards of the schools. Lack of educational equipment can only be partially solved by improvisations. Lack of financial support for students causes preoccupation with means of livelihood when they should be studying. Above all, the lack of well-trained educational administrators will be the greatest obstacle to the Communists' efforts to achieve progress.

Despite government efforts to run the schools according to a centralized plan, the lack of co-ordination leads to the "piracy of teachers and students." Government agencies in need of technical personnel often call away teachers and students without notifying the school authorities. Although it is not clear if such practices are continuing in Southwest China, the situation was serious enough in 1951 for the Government Administration Council in Peking

871 to issue an order banning such a practice.[65] Too frequent transfers of teachers in Kweichow Province resulted in the temporary suspension of classes at the Ch'ien-hsi Primary School.[66] Too many government-required extra-curricular activities deprived the students at the First Normal School in Chungking of 65 class-hours in a period of 24 days.[67] Too many extra assignments reduced the effectiveness of the teacher's instruction. One teacher at the Kuan-hsien Primary School in Szechwan Province complained that he had to serve on 13 committees, concerned with problems ranging from the repair of school buildings to dissemination of political propaganda.[68] Multiple control and supervision of school administration tends to confuse the administrators. The School for Iron and Steel Industries in Chungking had to

65. Ibid., Aug. 1951, p. 8.

66. Kung-fei K'ung-chih-hsia Ti Kuei-chou [Kweichow Under the Communists], Taipei Sixth Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, 1955, pp. 12-13.

67. New China Daily, Chungking, Jan. 23, 1953, p. 1.

68. Ibid., Feb. 26, 1953, p. 2.

•871 take orders from six government agencies; as a result the school administration found it difficult to please everybody.[69] According to Southwest China press reports, these were not isolated cases; they reflect the confusion that plagues the entire educational system in China today.

Until adequate officially-approved textbooks become available, the Communists have to resort to translations of Russian works in order to meet temporary needs. Since such translated works have not yet been slanted to the needs of the Chinese, it is doubtful that they will help to improve the educational system of Communist China.

The effort of the government to place college graduates wherever they are needed is undoubtedly required by the Communist plan for economic reconstruction. But even if the graduates are all thoroughly indoctrinated in Communism, there is still no reassurance that dissatisfaction will not grow among those who have been denied the choice of jobs.

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69. Chu Po-ch'i, Chung-kung Ti Hsüeh-hsiao Chiao-yü [Formal Education in Communist China] Hong Kong, Ya-chou ch'u-pan-she, 1954, p. 225.

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871 In summary, it should be noted that, although the Communists have launched a thorough reorganization of the Chinese educational system, their work is far from accomplished. The attitudes of the many people involved in the system of education can not be quickly changed; hence the renewed effort on the part of the government to root out "bourgeois" and anti-Communist thought among teachers and students. The expedient nature of "accelerated schooling" apparently has had a detrimental effort upon the graduates. According to a Communist report, some students of primary schools spent more than four years in a single grade; in some middle schools about 17 per cent of the students failed; in 1954, 73 per cent of the applicants for engineering department failed in mathematics in the college entrance examination.[70] There is no information available on how the college graduates fared; but it seems reasonable to assume that they could not have done much better.

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70. People's Education, Jan. 1955, p. 5.

769 Ancestor worship is institutionalized to an amazing extent. Not only the very large and wealthy families and clans but also the ordinary well-to-do ones have a separate ancestral temple. All go to great lengths and expenses to ensure good sites for family graveyards according to geomancy. In order to make sure that the fortune of the family will be on the up all the time it is the custom to change graveyards to new sites when the old ones have become suspect. Old imperial honors granted from Peking have been and are still highly valued. Walking through the town and its villages one comes upon numerous plaques of honor on the portals to many family homes.

249 Not many years ago, before the advent of the power of the Central Government into the province, opium growing was general. George B. Cressey prints in his book, China's Geographical Foundations (1934) a photograph showing "Fields of Opium Poppy Outside the Walls of Yunnanfu" (Kunming). This sight is no longer common today, especially in the more communicable parts. In the remoter interior of the province, the author has been told, opium is still being grown. Opium smoking is certainly very widespread everywhere in the province. Opium-growing in this town and its satellite villages was formerly the source of income for many families, and the trading of the commodity has enabled many families to become wealthy, indeed. The prohibition of its plantation has caused many small farmers to sigh about the passed "golden age," but has not prevented the wealthy families from making even more profit out of the now scarcer supply. These facts have at least been partly responsible for the wealth of West Town.

556 West Town contains a disporportionately large number of wealthy families. These families are not mere local stars. They are rather outstanding even in the larger provincial cities and in Kunming. One year ago the top of these families performed a funeral that lasted over two months and cost about one million national dollars. Even the lesser ones are also considerable. Soon after the fabulous funeral the wedding of the young master of a small one-room cloth store in the town cost ten thousand national dollars while the wages of laborers in the town were still about two or three dollars a day with board.

556 178 743 ●871 This wealth has perhaps given rise to the over-emphasis on the ancient ways as regards imperial honors, ancestor worship and sexual differences. But in recent years a few wealthy families have also supported in the town three schools, a hospital and a public library. The hospital has about twenty beds, one graduate nurse, two medical officers (both M.D.'s, one was trained in Peiping Union Medical College), a number of assistant nurses and a nursing training class. It has arrangement for free medicine and hospitalization for the poor. The schools are: one middle school, one primary school divided into two parts, and one normal school. The three schools combined have a total enrollment of about 1,400. The first and second schools are co-educational. The principal of the middle school is a local man who has studied in Ta'ing Hua University, Peiping.

Influences from Outside

491 492 205 Before the days of the Burma Road, motor transportation was scarcely known to this region and communication with Kunming took about two or three weeks one way. After the opening of the Burma Road the town was soon connected with the Road by a sort of badly constructed highway. But the principal mode of travelling is still pack horses and "chairs" (Hua Kan). Since about two years ago there has been a third-class post office receiving mail from Kunming once in two days.